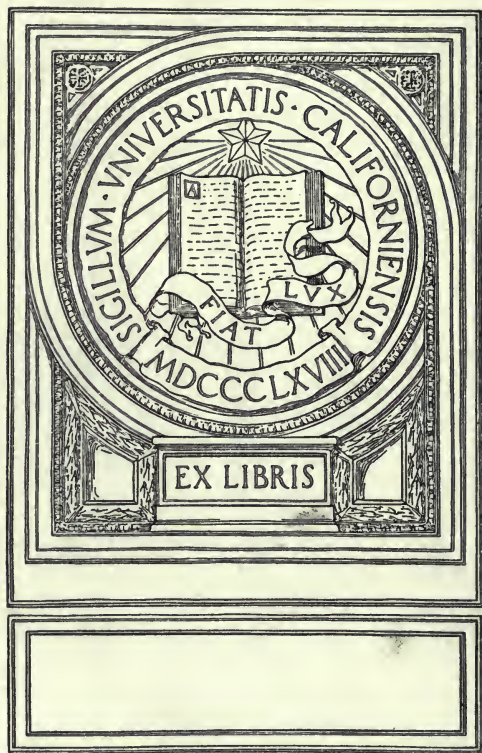


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CHRONICLE
OF
THE REBELLION IN LINCOLNSHIRE,
1470.

EDITED BY
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INTRODUCTION.

THE Rebellion in Lincolnshire was one of the occurrences of that troubled period of the reign of Edward the Fourth, when he was struggling with the machinations of his overgrown subject, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, through which he was at length compelled to leave his kingdom, and seek personal safety in flight. He had already suffered a period of unkingly restraint, from the time he was seized by the archbishop of York at Honiley, near Warwick,* until his escape from the castle of Middleham ; and he had also already been troubled with the insurrection of the Yorkshiresmen, who had defeated his army under the earl of Pembroke near Banbury, and beheaded his father-in-law and brother-in-law, earl Rivers and sir John Wydville. For these matters he had granted a pardon, with the mention of which the present narrative commences.

That weak and worthless prince, George duke of Clarence, the king's next brother, had virtually deserted his allegiance on accepting the hand of Warwick's elder daughter and coheir ; and it was now the project of the King-maker to depose Edward, and place the duke of Clarence on the throne. This intention was first made apparent by the disclosures which ensued upon the suppression of the Lincolnshire rebellion, as related in the following pages.

* Not Olney, as in the notes to Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 46. See the Gentleman's Magazine for Dec. 1839, vol. XII. p. 616.

The immediate consequence of king Edward's victory near Stamford was the flight of the duke and earl to France, where they concluded a treaty* with the queen of Henry VI., and married the lady Anne Neville, Warwick's younger daughter, to her son Edward prince of Wales: the duke of Clarence thereupon postponing his claim to the crown to that of the house of Lancaster. On their return to England, fortified by this alliance, the king was in his turn forced to leave the realm, and take refuge with his brother of Burgundy; and the temporary restoration of king Henry the Sixth ensued. King Edward's return, and almost magical recovery of the crown, forms the subject of the first publication produced by the Camden Society.

The present Chronicle, extending only over the brief space of a few weeks, will not require further illustration, beyond what a few notes will supply. Any contribution to so obscure a portion of English history cannot fail to be welcome; and the present is of importance, not only because it relates circumstances not elsewhere recorded, but also because it evidently proceeded from one who wrote under the immediate influence of the royal authority, and had consequently the best means of information: appealing, indeed, to documents throughout his narrative. It has been preserved in one of the volumes of the College of Arms (Vincent, No. 435), and for its communication the Society is indebted to WILLIAM COURTHOPE, Esq. Rouge Croix Pursuivant.

* On this portion of the history of the period, see "The manner and guiding of the Earl of Warwick at Angiers," published by Sir Henry Ellis in his *Original Letters*, Second Series, vol. I. p. 132.



CHRONICLE
OF
THE REBELLION IN LINCOLNSHIRE,
1470.

A REMEMBRANCE of suche acte3 and dede3 as oure souveraigne lorde the king hadde doon in his journey begonne at London the vi. day of Marche in the x. yere of his moost reigne, for the repression and seting down of the rebellyon and insurreccion of his subgettes in the shire of Lincolne, commeaved by the subtile and fals conspiracie of his grete rebelle3 George duc of Clarence, Richarde erle of Warrewike, and othere, &c.

(Vincent, No. 435, art. IX. in Coll. Arm.)

First, how be it that our saide souveraigne lorde, as a prince enclined to shew his mercy and pite to his subgettes, rather then rigure and straitnesse of his lawe3, pardoned of late to his saide rebelles all tresons and felone3, trespasse3 and offence3 committed and doon by theym ayeinst his highenese afore the fest of Cristenmes last past, (1) trusting that therby he shuld have coraged, caused, and induced theym from that tyme furthe to have been of good, kynd, and lovyng demeanyng ayeinst his highenesse; yit they unnaturally and unkyndly, withoute cause or occacion yeven to theym by our saide souveraigne lorde, falsly compassed, conspired, and ymaged the final destruccion of his most roiall personne, and of his true subgettes taking parte with him in assisting his highnesse, in so moche as whan he was comen unto Waltham the

vj. day of Marche, on the morue after, the vij. day of Marche, there was brought unto him worde that Robert Wellez, calling hym self grete capteyn of the comons of Linccolne shire, (2) had doo made proclamacions in all the churchez of that shire the sonday the iiij. daye of Marche in the kinges name, the duc, erle, and his owne name, everye man to come to Ranby hawe (3) upon the tuesday the vj. day of Marche, upon payne of dethe, to resist the king in comyng down into the saide shire, saying that his comyng thidre was to destroie the comons of the same shire, as apperethe by the copie of the same. And theruppon, the vij. daye of Marche, the king sent to London for the late lorde Welles, (4) sir Thomas Dymoke, (5) and othere, whiche were come thidre by the kinges prive seale (6).

Upon the thursday the viij. day of Marche, the king, ryding betwixt Bu[n]ttingforde and Roiston, toke in the way a childe whiche was sent from John Morling, steward to the lorde Cromewell (7). Wherby appered clerely the gadering of the saide comons, and parte of theire ententez, whiche letres purportith that by the tyme thay came to Stoneford thare shulde be of theym and of Yorkeshyr and other cuntrees that wolde falle to thaym C. m^l. men. And the same lettre was written at Tottersale, (8) the vj. day of Marche, and is redy to be shewed.

The same thursday the king come to Roston, whyther come to hym a servaunt of the duc of Clarence with a letter lattyng hys highnes wyt that, notwithstanding that he had taken hys lyve^a of hym at London, to have goone westward, yit, for to doo hym service in this his journey, he wolde arredeye hym self to com towards his highenes at suche tyme and place appointed as therle of Warrewike shulde also come, as he hadde promysed the king at London. Wherunto the king then answered, that he was glad, and wrote hym a letre of thanke of hys own hande; whiche message so sent by the duc was fals dissimulacion, as by the warkez affre it appered. Nevertheles the king, not undrestanding no suche

^a leave.

doublenesse, but trusting that they ment truly as thay shewed, sent unto the saide duc and erle incontinent his severall comissions (9) for to arreise the people in diverse shires, and to bring theym unto the king to doo hym service ayeinst his rebelles. And soo on the friday the ix. day of Marche the king com to Huntynghdon.

The kyng being at Huntynghdon did the saide lorde Wellez to be examined, and sir Thomas Dymoke and other severally, in whiche examinacion it was knowleged that in the lorde Wellez alle suche counceillez and conspiracions were taken and made betwixt his son, the saide sir Thomas Dynmoke, the commons, and othere; and that he and the saide sir Thomas Dynmoke were prive and knowing of there comunicacions, and thay might have lett it and did not, but verray provocars and causers of the same, with othere circumstancez touching it. Wheruppon the king yave hym an inunccion that he shulde send to his sonne, commaunding him to leve hys felaship, and humbly submitte hym, or elles thay for their seide treasons shulde have dethe, as they had deserved. The king thernne^a being, com eftsonen tydingez that the saide Robert Wellez and commouns were in grete nowmbre, and passed Lincolne towards Grantham.

Upon the sonday the vj. day of Marche, the king com to Fodrynghay, (10) where he had newe knowlege that his rebelles were passed Grantham towards hym, but sumwhat thay beganne to chaunge thaire way towards Leycestre; which, as it was afre clerely confessed, was doon by the stirring and message sent from the duc of Clarence and erle of Warrewike unto the saide late sir Robert Wellez and other pety captayne3, desiring thaym to have [been] by the monday at Leycestre, where thay promised to have joyned with theym with xx. m^l. men, as it appered afre in effect and by severall confessions (11) of the saide captayne3.

Where it appereth clerely that by all this tyme the saide duc and erle dissimiled falsly with the king, for there,^b or he went to

^a So the MS.

^b So the MS. : read the earl.

London, promysed that he wolde have comen to the king in resistance of the saide rebelles; uppon trust wherof the king by his knowlage and assent appoynted his gyste³,^a and the nombre of the people that he wolde com withe [to] the king. Also upon the same trust afre sent to the saide duc and hym his commissions to arrise and bring with hym the people of certein shire³ to doo hym service. Also the saide duc dissimiled right untruly with the king, for als soon as the lord Welle³ was comen to London to the king he come also thidre, undre coloure that he wolde have toke his leve to have goon westward, whedre he had sent his wyfe. And certainly he entended principally always to hym possible to have delaied the kinges comyng forth, sendyng worde to the saide sir Robert Welle³ that he so wold doo; desiryng hym not to be ferre, but to com forwardes; the whiche porpose if he had brought aboute, without eny faile the king, by all literal^b presumpcion, had be distressed and alle his felaship, as clerely may appere by the warkes afre.

That the duc thus dissimiled it shewethe; for on the morowe afre the king departed owte of London the said duc, the lorde Welle³, the prioure of Saint Johanne³, (12) and othere divers persons, kept theire counseill secretly at Saynt Johanne³, (13) and forthwith he departed towards Warrewike, contrary to his saying afore to the king; and upon the way sent the king a plesaunt letre as above, whiche letre his highenesse receyved at Roiston, where he wrote ayein, thanking and trusting verely he wolde so have doon; and soo diverse other tyme³ thay bothe sent to the king suche plesaunt mesage³, ever wenyng the king thare writting and message³ had been feithefulle and true, to the xiiij. day of Marche, whiche day the king came to Granthame; whiche alle notwithstanding, falsly and subtylly dissimiled with his highenes; for undre this they sent theire messages daily to the kinges rebelles, bidding thayme to be of good chere and comforthe, and hold forthe theire way towards Leycestre, where they promised to

^a The stages of his march.

^b So the *MS.* *qu.* likely.

have joined with theym and utterly to have taken theire parte, wherby theire unnaturelle and fals double treason apperethe.

And if God ne had put in the kinges mynde at Huntyngdon to put the lorde Wellez in certeynte of his dethe for his fals conspiracions and concelementes as is afore shewed, onlasse then his sonne wolde have left his fellship, and submuted as above, and ther-uppon a message sent to the saide sir Robert from his fadre, they had be certeynly joyned with the saide duc and erle ar the king might have had to doo with theym; but as God of his grace provided for the kinges wele, the same late sir Robert Welles being onwarde on his way towards Leycestre, undrestonding his fadre life to be in joperdie, by a message brought hym from his fadre, knowing also that the king was that sunday at nyght at Fodringhay, and demyng that he wolde not have passed Stanford the same monday, not entending to make eny submission ne beyng in his felaship, but disposing him to make his parte good ayeinst the king, and traytourly to levie where^a ayeinst his highnes, arredied hym and his felaship that day to have sett uppon the king in Staunford the monday nyght, and so to have destrest hym and his oost, and so rescued his fadre lyf; and for that entent turned with his hoole oost oute of Leicestre wey and toke his wey towards Stanford upon that same pourpose.

The king, not undrestonding thee; fals dissimilacions, but, of his most noble and rightwise courage, with alle spede pourposing to goo upon his saide rebelles, eerly on the monday afore day drew hym to felde^b and addressed hym towards Stanford; and at his thidre comyng sett furthe his foward towards his saide rebellion, and bayted hym self and his felaship in the town, whethere com eftsons a message from the saide duc and erle by a prest called sir Richard _____, and Thomas Woodhille, which brought letres from theym, certefying the king that thay were comyng towards him in aide ayeinst his rebelles, and that nyght thay were at Coventrie, and on the monday nyght they wolde

^a war.

^b To the field; *i. e.* to the march onward.

be at Leycestre; wherof the king delivered theym with letres of thankes of his own hand, and incontinent toke the felde, where he undrestood the saide sir Robert Welles to be in armeȝ with baniers displaid ayeinst hym, disposed to fight; thought it nott according with his honoure ne surtied^a that he shulde jeopardde his most roialle person upon the same to leve the fadre and the saide sir Thomas Dymmoke of live that suche treason had conspired and wrought, as soo it was thought to alle the lordes, noblemen and othere that tyme being in his oost; wherfore his highnesse in the felde undre his banere displaid comaunded the said lorde Welles and sir Thomas Dymmoke to be executed; and soo furthwith proceding ayeinst his saide rebelles, by the helpe of alle mighty God, acheved the victorie (14) and distressed mo then xxx. m^l. men, usyng therewith the plentyvoufly his mercy in saving of the liveȝ of his poure and wretched commons (15).

Where it is soo to be remembred that, at suche tyme as the ba-taileȝ were towards joynnyng, the kyng with [his] oost seting uppon [the rebels], and they avaunsyng theymself, theire crye was, *A Clarence! a Clarence! a Warrewike!* that tyme beyng in the feelde divers persons in the duc of Clarence livery, and especially sir Robert Welleȝ hymself, and a man of the dukeȝ own, that afre was slayne in the chase, and his casket taken, wherinne were founden many mervelous billeȝ, containing matter of the grete seduccion, and the verrey subversion of the king and the common wele of alle this lande, with the most abhominable treason that ever were seen or attempted withinne the same, as thay be redy to be shewed; and in the same chase was taken the late sir Thomas Delalande (16). This victorie thus hadde, the king returned to Stanforde late in the nyght, yevyng laude and praising to almighty God.

Upon the tewsdai the xiiij. day of Marche, the king, yit no thing mystrusting the saide duc and erle, sent from Stanford towarde theym John Down, oon of the swiers for his body, (17) with ij. letres of his own hand, signefyeing unto theym the victorie that

^a So the MS. *q.* suretyhood.

God hadde sent hym, and desired theym to com towarde hym with convenient nowmbre for thaire astates, commaunding theym to departe^a the people of the shire; (18) that were arrayssed by thayme by virtue of his commyssion, for hym semed full necessarye to sett good direccions in Linccolne shire, for he was thereinne, wherinne the advises were to hym right behovfulle, the king supposing verily that thay had been that monday nyght at Leycestre, as they afore soo had written to his highnes that thay wolde have been. And it is to deme soo they shulde have been, or at the leest upon tuesday, ne had be the kinges victorie on the monday, and that thay had no suche nowmbre of people as thay loked aftre, whiche caused theym to staker and to tary stille at Coventre, where the saide John Down founde theym. It is also to undrestand that ne had be the turnyng backe of the seide late Robert Welles with his oost towards Stanforde, for his fadrez reskue, the king couthe not by liklyhode haive hadde at doo with theyme the monday, ne of liklyhode til thay hadd be joined with the saide duc and erle, as afore written.

Upon the wednesday and thursday the xiiij. (19) and xv. day of Marche, the king being at Grantham, were taken and brought thidre unto hym alle the captayne; in substance, as the saide late sir Robert Welles, Richarde Warine, and othere, severally examyned of there free wille; uncompeled, not for fere of dethe ne otherwyse stirred, knowleged and confessed the saide duc and erle to be partiners and chef provocars of all theire treasons. And this plainely, theire porpos was to distroie the king, and to have made the saide duc king, as they, at the tyme that thei shulde take theire dethes, openly byfore the multitude of the kinges oost affermed to be true.

And what tyme the saide John Down had delivered the kinges letres to them^b at Coventre, thay saide and promysed to hym playnely thay wolde in alle haste com towards the king, leving theire fotemen, with a M^l. or at the most xv^c men; whiche notwithstond-

^a *i. e.* disband.

^b Clarence and Warwick.

ing, the said John Down being present, they departed, with alle their fellowship, towardes Burton-uppon-Trent ; and when the saide John Down remembred theym that hym semed they toke not the right way towardes the king, their aunswere was, that they toke that way for certain fotemen were byfore theym, with whom they wolde speke, and curtesly departed from thens, to thentent thay shulde be the more redy and the better-wele willed to doo hym service hereafre ; and undre colour thereof they went to Burton, and sithen to Darby, for to gadre more people unto theym, to enforce theym self ayeinst the king in all that they couthe or myght soo ever, continually using their accustomed fals dissimilacion.

In this season, the king undrestonding that the commocion in meoving of people in Richemond shire by the stirring of the lorde Scrope and othere, sent by the saide duc and erle there for that cause with many lettres, his highness sent into Northomerland and Westmoreland to arredie certain felaship to a filowed^a upon theym if they had com forwarde, and to therle that tyme of Northomerland, nowe markes Mowntague, with his felaship, to have countred theym in their faces, thay that understanding and havynge tithinges also [of] the kinges victorie, and, as divers gentlemen of that felaship saide, thinkyng by the maner of the saide erle of Warrewike writing sent thidre in his own name oonly, to arreise the people, that their stirring shulde be ayenst the king, and fering his spedye comyng unto their parties with his oost, left their gadering, and satt still.

The friday the xvj. day of Marche, the king com to Newerke, and the setyrday, as the king was towardes Horebake, there com to hym from the saide duc and erle Rufford and Herry Wrotesley, and with theym brought pleasaunte writings, dissimiling eftsoner that thay wolde com to hym at Ratforde. The king delivered theym the same day, the xvij. of Marche ; and on sonday the king sent garter king of arme with ij. prive seale of summons to theym, that tyme being at Chestrefelde, commaunding theym to com to

^a *i. e.* have followed.

theire aunswere and declaracion upon suche thinges as the forsaide captayns of Lincolneshire had accused theym of, as apperethe by the same seide summons, (20) whereof the tenure flowethe.

“Brothere, we ben enfourmed by sir Robert Welles, and othere, how ye labowred contrarie to naturalle kyndenes and dutie of ligeaunce divers matiers of grete poise; and also how proclamations have be made in your name and owre cosyn of Warrewike to assemble oure liege people, noo mencion made of us. Furthermore, letres missive sent in like maner for like cause. How be it we wolle foryete that to us perteyneth. And that is to calle you to your declaracion on the same, and to receyve you therunto, if ye wolle com as fittethe a liege man to com to his soveraigne lorde in humble wise. And if ye soo doo, indifferance and equite shalbe by us wele remembred, and soo as no resonable man goodly disposed shalle move thinke but that we shalle entrete you according to your nyghenes of oure bloode and oure lawe3. Wherefore, our disposicion thus playnly to you declared, we wolle and charge you, upon the feithe and trouthe that ye naturelly owe to bere unto us, and upon payne of your ligeaunce, that ye, departing your felaship, in alle hast afre the sight herof addresse you to our presence, humbly and mesurably accompayned, and soo as it is convenient for the cause abovesaid, lating you wite if ye soo do not, but contynue that unlefull assemble of our people in perturbacion and contempe of our peas and commandement, we most procede to that we were lothe to doo, to the punyshement of you, to the grevous example of alle othere our subgettes, uppon the which if there flowe eny effucion of Christen bloode of our subgettes of this our realme, we take God, our blissed Lady, saynt George, and all the saintes to our wittnesse that ye be oonly to be charged with the same, and not we. Yeven undre our signet, at Newerke, the xvij. day of Marche, the x. yere of our reign.” And a like letre, undre prive seale, was sent to the erle of Warrewike.

The sonday the xvij. day of Marche, the king com to Doncastre, where com to hym from the saide duc and erle a chapleyn

of the saide erlez called maister Richarde, bryngyng pleasaunt letres from theym, signefyeing in the begynnyng of his message, that thay wolde com humbly to the king; but the concludion was that, or thay shulde com, thay wolde have suretie for theyme and theire felaship, with pardonne; for theym and alle the lordes and othere that had take theire partie; wherunto the king aunswered, that of late, in trust of theire hede^a demeanyng he had graunted theym his pardon, and at theire instans and prayour made it extended to asmoche ferrer day then he had furst graunted it; and therefore, and the writing and message; to his highnes sent byfore remembred, he mervailed that thay delaied theire comyng, and sent eny suche message; for theire excuse; and sithe his highnes had sent his forsaide summons by the saide garter, his highnes supposed to have worde from theym the same nyght of theire comyng, and for that his saide entent shulde more clerely appere unto theym, he wolde send to theym of newe his prive seale; of his saide sumons; as soo he dide by the saide maister Richarde, chargeing hym to deliver theym to the seide duc and erle.

The monday the xix. day of Marche, before noon, come ayene from the saide duc and erle unto the king at Doncastre the saide Rufford, and with hym sir William Pare, (21) with letres credenciales, the credence in effecte conteynyng the saide message that the saide maister Richarde had brought on sonday afore, expressing that they wolde not onlesse then they myght have suretie; of theire comyng, abiding, and departing, to have the kinges pardon in fourme afore rehersed, whiche suretie shulde have be that the king shuld have be sworne to theym solemply and theruppon they to be sworne unto hym ayein; wherunto the king, afre advise and assent taken with alle his lordes and noble-men being there with hym, openly, thay being present, aunswered, that he wolde use and entreate theym as a souveragne lord owethe to use and entreate his subgettes, for his auncient enemye; of

^a So MS.

France wolde not desire so large a suretie for their comyng to his riale presens; and he doubt it not but it was wele in theire remembraunce how he of late had graunted theym his pardonne, and sithe that what insurreccions and rebellions were in his shire of Lincolne comitted ayenst hym and the common wele of his lande, and as his highnesse hathe knowlage by the confessions of sir Robert Welles called grete capteigne of Lincolneshire, Waryn capteyn of the fotemen, and other, they were styrrers and provokers and causers of the same; and if he shulde be to libérale of his pardonne, considering the hanyous accusacions, and thay not harde what they couth say for their declaracions, it shulde be to perlioux and to evel example to alle other his subgettes in like case, and to gret an unsurtie to his personne and comon wele of his realme; whiche meaved his highne3 to telle theym his aunswere3, and if they couthe have a declared theym self, and shewed the saide accusacions van and untrue, he wolde have be therewith as gladde as theym self, and so have taken theym in his grace and favour. And thoughe thay couthe not so have doon, yit his highnesse wolde not have forgotten the nyghnesse of blode which they were of to hym, ne the olde love and affeccion whyche of long tym he had borne to theym, but wolde have mynistred to theym rightwisseness with favour and pite. And where sedicious langage3 have be shewen, as it is saide, by theire meanes in the northe partie3 and elle3 where to stir his subgettes ayeinst hym, in that he wolde not abide by his saide pardon late graunted, if thay or eny other knyght withinne his saide realme would soo say, he wolde in his own personn, as j knyght, make it goode uppon hym that he saide falsly and untruly; and furthermore, he bād the saide sir William and Rufford say to the saide duc and erle, that if thay wolde com to his presence, according to his saide summons, he wolde therewith be plesed; and if thay ne wold, but refused so to do, he wolde repute, take, and declare theym, as reason wolde, afre as theire demerites, obstinacy, and unnaturelle demeanyng required, and charged the saide sir William

Parre and Rufford, that sith they were gentilmen borne of his realme, if they self^a theym of such contumacy, they then shulde leve theym and com to hym, according to their duty and ligeance, and to yeve hym^b assistance ayenst theym, and that thay shulde give^c like charge to all other knyghtes, swiers, and other subgettes being there with the saide duc and erle to do the same, upon the payne of ligeance; wheruppon the saide sir William Par and Rufford, fering that they shuld not be suffred to opyn the kinges commandment, humbly besought the kinges gode grace that it might please the same to send an officer of armes with theym to doo it, as he soo did, sendyng with theym Marche, oon of his kinges of armeȝ.

The monday nyght, whan his message was comen to the saide duc and erle at Chestrefelde, they, taking noo regarde therunto, but presumptuously refusing by the same obstinacy, withdrew theymself and their fellship into Loncastre shire, trusting there to have encresing their strengheȝ and by the comforthe that thay shulde have had there, and oute of Yorkshire to [have] assembled so gret a puyssaunce that thay might have be able to have fought with the kinges highnes in plein felde.

The tewsday, in the mornyng, the king, uncerteined how they wolde demean theym upon the saide summons and message, addressed hymself to the felde, and there put his hoole oast in^d noble ordre of bataille, awowching his baner towards Chestrefelde, undrestonding noon othere but that thay [should] be there, and then their aforeryders were com to Rotherham to take their lod[ging], therefore the night filowing he came to Rotherham, where he logged [that ny]ght, and there had certeyn tidinges of their departing, and that knowlege had [for as mo]che as it was thought by his highnes, his lordes, and other noble [men there bei]ngwith hym, that he might not conveniently p[roceed] with soo [great an] host, for that the saide duc and erle, with their felaship [had consum]ed the [vitaile] afore hym, and the contrey afore hym self wa . . . not

^a So apparently the MS. q. found ?

^b MS. them.

^c MS. if.

^d MS. and.

able to susteyn so gret an oost as the kinges highnesse had with him withowt a newe refresshing; the king for that cause, and for that he shulde lie betwene them and the strengest of the north parte, wheruppon thay hoped and wolde have beene fayne joyned with, addressed hym with his saide oost towards his citie of Yorke, fully determyned there to have refresshed and vitailed his saide oost, and so vitailed to have entered into Lancastreshire that wey, and there, if they wold have biden, to have recountred their malice; and that night he loged at his castelle of Powmfrett; and from thens the next day, thursday the xxij. day of Marche, he cam to his saide citie of Yorke. And at Yorke the king taried friday, (23) saturday, sonday, and monday the xxvj. day of Marche, esta[blishing] suche rule3 and direccions as were and might be for the surtie of alle the northe partie3, and for sufficient provicion of vitaille for his oost for thaccomplishing of his pourpose into Lancastreshire. And there com to the king the lorde Scrope (24), sir John Conyers (25), yong Hilyard of Holdrenes (26), and other, which had laboured, specially provoked, and stirred the people in thie3 partie3 to have [made] commocion ayeinst the king, wherinne they frely submitted them to the kinges grace and mercy, and humbly bysought hym of his pardone and grace; and also of ther fre wille3, unconstreyned and undesired, they clerely confessed that so to make commocions they were specially laboured and desired by the saide duc and erle, th[r]ough theire writing and messages, by their own servauntes delivered and opened, and at they shulde [have] assembled as many as they couthe have made in thie3 partie3, and have drawn to Rotherham, and there to have countred the king, and to have doon asmuche as in them had been to have distressed hym and his ost; which alle they affermed to be true by their othe3, solemply made upon the blissed sacrament, and by they[m] receyved upon the same. And the said late sir Robert Welle3, Waryn, and other, confessed plainly at their dethe3 taking afore the multitude of the kinges oost at Doncastre, that they were specially

laboured, provoked, and stirred, by writing and message; sent to theym from the saide duc and erle, and by their servauntes delyvered, that they shuld have comen to Leycestre, and there have joyned with theym, and not to have countred the king, but to have suffred hym to have passed northwardes to thentent that ^a soo the saide duc and erle, and they, with their powers soe joyned, myght have been between the king and the southe parties, and enclosed hym betwixt theym and the power of the northe, to the likly uttur and finalle distrucion of his rialle person, and the subversion of alle the land, and the common wele of the same.

^a *In MS.* that he.

NOTES.

(1.) *The king's pardon.* "This yere, soone after Alhalowe tyde, proclamacyons were made thorough the cytie of London, that the kynge had pardoned the Northyrn men of theyr riot, and as well for the deth of the lorde Ryvers, as all displeasures by theym before that tyme done." Fabyan's London Chronicle.

(2.) *Sir Robert Welles.* Very few particulars are on record respecting this captain of the rebels, whom it is impossible not to regard as having been, in some measure, the victim of filial duty. He was the only son of his parents, who are noticed in Note 4. He had married Elizabeth, daughter of John Bourchier lord Berners; she made her will on the 10th October following her husband's death, and therein bequeathed her body to be buried in the church of the Friars at Doncaster, where that of her husband lay interred. As they had no children, the inheritance devolved on his sister Joane, the wife of Richard Hastings esquire, brother to William lord Hastings, lord chamberlain; which Richard was afterwards summoned to Parliament as lord Welles.

(3.) *Ranby Hawe.* The principal estates of the family of Welles were the manors of Hellowe, Aby, Welle, and Alford, in the county of Lincoln, in the first of which they also possessed the advowson of the free chapel of Wellys. (Act 19 Hen. VII.) By consulting the map of Lincolnshire, the town of Alford will be found near the eastern coast, and the other places mentioned in its immediate vicinity. Ranby, where sir Robert Welles mustered his forces, is about fifteen miles east of Alford, and towards the city of Lincoln; to which city he afterwards marched, and thence to Grantham, as noticed in more than one passage of the present narrative. The commencement of the rebellion is thus described in Warkworth's Chronicle: "In the moneth of March, the lorde Willowby, the lorde Welles his sonne, Thomas de la Lond knyght, and sere Thomas Dymmoke knyght the kynges champion, droff out of Lyncolnschyre sere Thomas à Burghe, a knyght of the kynges howse, and pullede downe his place, and toke alle the comons of the shyre, to the nowmbre of xxx. ml., and cryed, *Kynge Henry!* and refused kynge Edward." Sir Thomas Burgh was obnoxious to the partizans of Warwick, because, in conjunction with sir William Stanley, he had recently assisted king Edward in escaping from durance at Middleham Castle. He resided in the ancient manor-house of Gainsborough, which he partly rebuilt; but it does not appear probable that the rebels went so far north.

(4.) *Richard lord Welles* had married Joane daughter and heir of Robert lord Willoughby of Eresby, who died in 1452, by his first wife Elizabeth Montacute, daughter of John earl of Salisbury. (Collectanea Topogr. et Geneal. vii. 155.) Thus it

will be found that the earl of Warwick and sir Robert Welles (the Lincolnshire "captain") were second-cousins, John earl of Salisbury having been the great-grandfather of both. There had also been another connection between the families of Neville and Willoughby; for sir Thomas Neville, one of the earl of Warwick's younger brothers (he was slain at the battle of Wakefield in 1460), had married Maud dowager lady Willoughby, the second wife of Robert, and cousin and co-heir of Ralph lord Cromwell, lord treasurer. She survived to the 30th Aug. 1497. In consequence of his marriage, sir Richard Welles was summoned to parliament during his father's lifetime, by writ directed "Ricardo Welles de Willoughby militi," from the 26th May, 1455. His father, Lionel lord Welles, K.G. was slain at the battle of Towton in 1461, fighting on the Lancastrian side, and was consequently attainted; but the son was restored in blood in 1468 (Nicolas's Synopsis of the Peerage), and then became entitled to the barony of Welles, which was of older date than that of Willoughby. By an act passed in the parliament of 1475 Richard Welles late of Hellowe in the countie of Lincolne knyght, Robert Welles of the same place knyght, and Thomas Delalaunde late of Horblyng in the same shire knyght, were declared attainted of high treason, for the present rebellion. (Rot. Parl. vol. vi. p. 144.) The attainder of the two Welles, father and son, was reversed in the first parliament of Henry VII. (Ibid. 286.) It may here be noticed that the author of Hearn's Fragment was under a misapprehension when he wrote, "And anon thereupon the lord Welles (*that had married Margaret duchess of Somerset*) began a new commotion in Lincolnshire;" for that had been a second marriage made by his father, Lionel. It was to John, the son of that marriage, that Henry the Seventh gave the lady Cecily Plantagenet, his queen's sister, together with the dignity of a viscount and the order of the garter, he being the king's uncle, viz. half-brother, *ex parte maternâ*, of Margaret countess of Richmond.

(5.) *Sir Thomas Dymmoke*, of Scrivelsby, son of sir Philip who officiated as champion at the coronation of king Henry VI., had married Margaret, daughter of Lionel lord Welles by his first wife Joane daughter and heir of sir Robert Waterton: and was thus implicated with his brother-in-law and nephew. He was not, however, included in their subsequent attainder.

(6.) *The king's privy seals*. Polydore Vergil (Camden Society's edition, p. 127) represents that lord Welles and sir Thomas Dymmoke had taken sanctuary at Westminster; that "king Edward gave his faith and promise for their safeties, and called them out of sanctuary." Afterwards, when the king beheaded them, the same historian remarks that it was "contrary to faith and promise given, and to the worst example that might be."—After perusing the present narrative, it may be fairly questioned whether this statement, which is that adopted by most subsequent writers, is not exaggerated in some of the attendant circumstances.

(7.) *Lord Cromwell*. This was Humphrey Bourchier, third son of Henry earl of Essex, by Isabel daughter of Richard of Coningsburgh earl of Cambridge, king Edward's

grandfather. Having married Joane Stanhope, neice and co-heir of Ralph lord Cromwell, of Tattershall, he was summoned to parliament by that title in 1461. It is not to be supposed that he had any concern in the rebellion. He died the next year at Barnet field, fighting on the side of the king, his cousin.

(8.) *Tattershall*, lord Cromwell's castle, was in the immediate vicinity of the insurrection. The remaining tower, built by the lord treasurer Cromwell temp. Hen. VI. is a remarkably fine specimen of brick architecture, views of which will be found in Britton's Architectural Antiquities, and elsewhere; and its chimney-pieces, curiously carved with heraldic insignia and lord treasurer's purses, are represented in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, and in Weir's Horncastle.

(9.) *Commissions*. These commissions had been prepared the day before, being dated "Apud Waltham Abbatis septimo die Martii." They were addressed, 1. to George duke of Clarence, Richard earl of Warwick and Salisbury, sir Walter Sculle, Richard Crofte senior, Thomas Throgmerton, Thomas Everton, and Thomas Lygon, for the county of Worcester; and 2. to George duke of Clarence, Richard earl of Warwick and Salisbury, sir Thomas Ferrers, sir Simon Mountford, sir William Catesby, sir Richard Verney, sir John Greyville, Thomas Burdyt, Thomas Hygford, John Hygford, Henry Botyller, Thomas Muster, and John West, for the county of Warwick; and are printed from the Patent Rolls in Rymer, xi. 652.

(10.) *Fotheringay*. This, as is well known, was a royal castle, and at this time was one of the customary residences of Cecily duchess of York, the king's mother. The bodies of Richard duke of York and his second son Edmund earl of Rutland had been brought hither from Pontefract, and re-interred with great pomp on the 22nd July, 1466, the king and duke of Gloucester being present.

(11.) *Confessions*. The confession of sir Robert Welles was published in the Excerpta Historica, 1831; but its close relation to the present narrative will justify its repetition here:—

CONFESSION OF SIR ROBERT WELLES.

(MS. Harl. 283, f. 2.)

"Aboute Candelmasse last, a chapeleyn of my lordes of Clarence, called maister John Barnby, and with him sir John Clare, prestes, came to my lord my fadir and me to Hellow, with letres of credence yeven to the sayd maister Johan, which he opned in this wyse: that my lorde of Warwike was at London with the kinge, wherupon for thaire bothe suerties he praid us in bothe thaire names to be redy with alle the felaship we couth or might make and assemble of the comons, what tyme so ever my sayd lord of Clarence shuld send us word. Nathelesse he willed us to tary, and nott stur, to suche time as my lord of Warwike were come agayne from London, for doubte of his destruccion. And

anone after my lorde of Clarence sent me a patent of the stewardship of Cawlesby in Lincolnshire by the saide sir John Clare.

"The cause of oure grete risinge at this time was grounded upon this noise raisid amonges the people, that the kinge was coming downe (and with him sir Thomas Borogh*), with grete power, into Lincolnshire, where the kinges jugges shulde sitte, and hang and draw grete noubre of the comons. Wherefore, with as many as we might make be alle meanes possible, we came to Lincolne upon the Tuseday; and upon the Wenesday a servaunt of my said lord of Clarence, called Walter , yoman of his chawmbre, by his commaundment, told us the same, and that the gentilmen of the contre shuld passe upon us in such wyse that nedely gret multitud must dye of the comons; therupon desiring us to arise and procede in oure purpose, as we loved ourselves. And for that my lord my fadir was att London, and peraventure shuld there be endaungered, which he ne wold, for that cause him self wold go to London to help excuse my sayd lord my fadir, and to delaye the kinges coming forth.

"The said Walter , servaunt of my lorde of Clarence, went with me to the feld, and toke grete parte of guiding of our hoost, nott departing from the same to the end. And afore that, as sone as I came to Lincolne, I sent sir John Clare to my lord of Warwike, to have understanding from him how he wold have us guidid forthwardes; but, for us semed he taried long, we sent hastily after him oon John Wright, of Lincolne, for the same cause; and thereupon I departed with oure hoost towardes Grantham; and in the way, aboute Temple Brewere, sir John Clare mett with me, saing of my lord of Warwikes behalfe, that he grett us welle, and bad us be of gode comforth, for he and my said lord of Clarence wold araise alle the peple they couth in alle hast, and come towardes us, and utterly take suche parte as we shuld take, saing over, that he saw my sayd lord of Warwike lay his hand on a boke that he wold so do. And so the said sir John Clare often times declared aforne the peple.

"The Sunday after came John Wright to Grantham, and broght me a ring from my said lord of Warwike, and desired me to go forward, bidding me and us alle be of gode comforth, for he was in araising alle that he might make, and wold be at Leyeestre on Monday night with xx. ml. men, and joyne with us. Wherefore he willed me to suffre the felaship that came with the king fro by south to passe northwardes, and yeve him the way, to th'entent he and we might be betwix them and the south.

"Also, when my lord my fadir went to London, he charged me that if I understode him att any tyme to be in jupartye, I shuld with alle that I might make come to socoure him.

"Also, my lord of Clarence servaunt Walter , that cam to us to Lincolne, stured and meved often times our hoost, and in many places of the same, that att such tyme as the matir shuld come nerre the point of batelle they shuld calle upon my lord of Clarence to be king, and to distroye the kinge that so was aboute to distroye them and alle the realme: so ferforthly that, at such tyme as the king was beforne us in the feld he

* These words are erased with a pen.

toke a spere in his hand, and said he wold therwith as frely renne agains the king as agains his and his maister's mortalle enemy.

"Also, I have welles understand by many mesagges, as welles fro my lord of Clarence as of Warwike, that they entended to make grete risinges, as forforthly as ever I couthe understand, to th'entent to make the duc of Clarence king: and so it was oft and largely noised in our hoost.

"Also, I say that ne had beene the said duc and erles provokinges, we at this tyme wold ne durst have maid eny commocion or sturing, but upon there confortes we did that we did.

"Also, I say that I and my fadir had often times lettres of credence from my said lordes of Clarence and Warwike, of thankinges for our devoires, and praied us to continue our gode hertes and willes to the above sayd purpose. One that broght fro my lord of Clarence was called William Uwerke; oone that broght lettres from my lord of Warwike was called Philip Strangways;* of the other I remembre nott the names. The credence in substance rested onely in this, yevyng of thankes, praing to continue, and to sture and meve the peple to do the same; which lettres be to be broght forth."

(12.) *Prior of saint Johannes.* Sir John Longstrother, bailiff of the Eagle and seneschal of the reverend the high master of Rhodes, was elected prior of the hospital of saint John of Jerusalem in England, in the year 1469, and swore fealty to king Edward on the 18th November that year, and again to king Henry on the 20th Oct. 1470; see the documents recording both ceremonies in Rymer, vol. xi. pp. 650, 664, derived from the Close Rolls: and repeated at p. 670 from the Patent Rolls. Being a zealous Lancastrian, he was on the same day as last mentioned appointed treasurer of the exchequer (ibid. 665). On the 16th Feb. following king Henry sent him to conduct the queen and prince from France to England, and granted him "of oure tresoure cc. marc to have of oure yefte by way of rewarde, for his costs and expences in that behalve" (ibid. 693); and on the 24th of the same month, in conjunction with John Delves esquire, he was appointed warden of the mint (ibid. 698.)

He returned out of France with queen Margaret in April 1471, being "at that time called treasurer of England" (Fleetwood's MS.); and he was one of those who were beheaded after the battle of Tewkesbury.

(13.) *At Saint Johannes.* That is, at the preceptory of the order at Clerkenwell near London.

(14.) *The victorie.* The battle was fought "at Empynggham, in a felde called Horne-

* A younger son of sir James Strangways, by Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Philip lord Darcy and Meynell. His sister Margaret had for her second husband Richard Hastings lord Welles and Willoughby. See the Collectanea Topogr. et Genealogica, ii. 162.

felde." (Act of Attainder of Richard Welles, &c. 14 Edw. IV.) "The place where it was fought, about five miles north-west of Stamford, near the road to York, retains the name of *Bloody Oaks* to this day. We are told that some of the Lancastrians who fled from the battle threw off their coats, that they might not be incumbered by them in their flight; and that the field called *Losecote-field*, between Stamford and Little Casterton, which, by erroneous tradition, has been fixed upon as the field of battle, received its name from that circumstance. Perhaps that was the place where some of them were severely pressed by their pursuers." *Blore's History of Rutland*, fol. 1811, p. 142.

(15.) *His poor and wretched commons.* Edward's vindictive conduct towards all the nobility who opposed him is conspicuous throughout the history of his reign. Philip de Comines alludes to his practice in battle to call out to spare the common soldiers, and kill only the gentlemen; but states that at the battle of Barnet he did so no more, having conceived a mortal hatred against the commons of England, for the favour they had manifested towards the Earl of Warwick.

(16.) *Sir Thomas Delalande*, of Horbling in Lincolnshire, was a brother-in-law of lord Welles, as well as sir Thomas Dymmoke, having married his sister Katharine. In *Nicolas's Testamenta Vetusta* is the following brief extract of a will. "John De la Laund knight, being very aged, this 4th day of Feb. 1465 make my will. My body to be buried in the convent of the Augustine friars, London. Thomas my son. Proved April 4th, 1471." This, therefore, seems to have been the father's will, proved in consequence of the son's death.

Sir Thomas is, however, termed a Gascon both by Olivier de la Marche and by William of Wyrcestre, in their notices of the tournaments performed in London on the visit of the bastard of Burgundy (see the *Excerpta Historica*, 1831, pp. 213, 214). The bastard came accompanied by sire Jehan de Chassa and sir Philippe Bouton. The bastard himself was encountered by the lord Scales; sire Jehan de Chassa by Loys de Bretailles, a Gascon esquire, servant to lord Scales; and "on the morrow (says Olivier de la Marche) messire Philippe Bouton, (who was chief esquire to the comte de Charoloys,) did arms against an esquire of the king. This esquire was a Gascon, and was named Thomas de la Lande; and this Thomas was a fine companion, and a good man." The words of Wyrcestre are, "Et alio die sequenti (it was the 15th June 1467) congressi sunt in campo ibidem equites eum acutis lanceis Thomas de la Launde Gascon' contra . . . Boton' Burgund' idemque Thomas de la Launde magis audacter et honorabiliter [*not horribiliter, as in the Excerpta Historica*] se habuit."

(17.) *John Down*, one of the esquires of the king's body. This was probably John Dwnn, of Kydweli, co. Carmarthen, who married Elizabeth, sister to William lord Hastings, the lord chamberlain; and whose portrait and that of his lady, both of them wearing king Edward's livery collar of roses and suns, is one of the most curious pictures in the duke of Devonshire's collection at Chiswick (and described in the Gentleman's Maga-

zine, Nov. 1840, vol. XIV. p. 489). His brother Harry Dwnn had fallen at the battle of Banbury; and there was another of the name there killed, who is styled "John Done of Kydwelli" in Warkworth's Chronicle: but from William of Worcestre's list of the slain, in which that person is described as "Henr. Don de Kedwelly: filius Ewin Don," combined with the present passage, it may probably be concluded that John Dwnn of Kidwelly, whose father's name was Griffith, did not fall in that battle. He is stated to have been buried at Windsor, or at Westminster. (Gent. Mag. ubi supra.)

(18.) *The king's proclamation* to this effect, dated at Stamford the 13th of March, has been printed, from the Close Rolls, in the notes appended to Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 52.

(19.) *Coventry.* This city, lying in the immediate vicinity of the castles of Warwick and Kenilworth, was a place entirely under the control of the earl of Warwick. Here it was that earl Rivers and his son sir John Widville had lost their lives; and in the same neighbourhood the king himself had been seized and rendered a prisoner (as noticed in the Introduction). In order to ascertain whether the archives of Coventry contained any record of the commotions of the year 1470, I applied to Mr. William Reader, who when a resident there devoted much time to their investigation, and he has favoured me with the following document, which is a royal mandate, issued before the king's departure from Westminster, commanding the citizens to send their contingent to meet the king, and it is remarkable that the day on which they were appointed to meet him at Grantham, was the same on which the battle was fought near Stamford. Of course they had not reached him: in all probability, their march was altogether stayed through the influence of the earl of Warwick.

"This lettre was brought to the Meyr [of Coventry], the xix. day of Feverer, late in the evenyng, a^o. ix^o.

"By the Kynge.

"Trusty and welbyloved, we grete yow well, and for somuche as we be acertayned that our rebelles and owtward enemies intende in haste tyme to aryve in thys our royaume, and that certain our subgiетts, ther adherents, contrary to ther duté and legiance, in divers parties of our lande arredey and assemble hemselve for the reteyning of our sayd ennemies and rebelles, so that yffe their malice be not in briffe tyme mightily withstonden it myght growe to the grett juparté of us and the destruccio of al our trew subgiетts, we therfor with alle diligence fully dispose us by Goddes grace to go in our own person to resiste ther sayde malicyows purpose, in the whiche it apperteinith of very ryght and dueté to every our subgiетts to yeve on to us ther assistens with bodies and godes; wherfore we desire and pray yow, and natheles in the straitest wyse charge yow, that ye do sende unto us persones hable and of power wel and defensibly arayd to labour in our servise in suche competent nowmbre as ye may goodly beere, sufficiantly wagyd for, and that they be with us at our town of Grantham, the xij. day of Marche next coming, to wayte apon us in our sayd jornee; and, over that, that ye charge everi person beinge within your libeté or franchises having eny office of our yeffe, or of our derist wyfe the quene, for terme of hys

lyfe, wheroff the wagis extende to iij^d. by the day or above, that he com unto us in his persone, if he be of power to laboure, or finde a souffisant man for hym at the sayd day and plase waged as aforne, and that everi persone having moo offices than oon of our grant, or of our sayd wyfe as above, with lyke fees or wages, that for everi such office he finde us a souffisant man as hit ys aforesayd, putting yow in suche devoir for the premisses that we may perceyve that ye tender the wele and suerté off us and our sayde royaume, as ye wol ansuer unto us at your perilles. Yeven onder owr signet, at our Paleys off Westminster, the ix. day of Feverer."

In pursuance of this letter twenty men were raised, and they were made to take the following oath:—

(*The MS. is torn here*) that were sende towards the kyng to Grantam. I shall be trewe [to the king my sovereign] lege lord, and truly abyde with hym at better and werse, and truly performe hym al manner [servyce, and] not depart from hym on to the ynde of owr reteygn, and tyll we may com to the kynges hyghnes we shall duly attende and wayte apon Wylliam Shyppey, the meys serjant. I shan quarell with no persone onresonably a monge owr selffe, but be well rulyd. So helpe me [God and] holydame.

In April following 40 men were raised in Coventry at 12*d*. a day, for a month, to go with king Edward into the South, and 100*l*. was collected from the ten wards to pay them.

(20.) *On Wednesday the 14th of March* the king was at Stamford, as appears by two documents in Rymer, one appointing ambassadors to Castille, the other constituting John earl of Worcester constable of England.

(21.) *The king's summons to the duke of Clarence.* This letter of summons has been printed by sir Henry Ellis in his Second Series of Original Letters, vol. i. p. 138, from a copy by Stowe in the MS. Harl. 543; but, as it there immediately follows a letter which Clarence and Warwick sent out of France, the editor was misled to attribute its date to the period of their return from that country.

(22.) *Sir William Parr* was a knight of the garter and comptroller of the royal household at the death of Edward IV. He had married the king's cousin-german, Elizabeth daughter and coheir of Henry lord Fitzhugh, by Alice daughter of Ralph earl of Westmerland and sister to Cecily duchess of York. His eldest son, sir Thomas, was the father of queen Katharine Parr. See further of him in Davies's York Records, 1843, p. 40.

(23.) *On Friday 23d March*, the king wrote from York "to Edmund Dudley esquier, depute lieftenaunt to our cousyn John erle of Worcestre, lieftenaunt of our lord of Ireland, and to our chauncellor and counceill there," announcing that he had discharged the duke of Clarence from the office of lieutenant of Ireland, and appointed the earl of Worcester thereto; and, suspecting that the duke and the earl of Warwick might repair to the said land, requiring them to be arrested, and offering to him that took either of them a reward of 100*l*. of land in yearly value, to him and to his heirs, or 1000*l*. in ready money, at his election. Rymer, xi. 654.

On Saturday the 24th the king issued at York the proclamation against the duke of Clarence and earl of Warwick, printed in the notes to Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 53 ; which was followed by another dated at Nottingham, the 31st March, printed *ibid.* p. 56 ; and also in the Appendix to the Rolls of Parliament, vol. vi. p. 233.

On the 26th, the king, having discovered that the duke and earl were fled towards Devonshire, directed commissions of array to that and several other of the western counties ; printed in Rymer, xi. 655.

On the last day of March Edward had come as far southwards as Nottingham, and thence wrote to the mayor, &c. of Salisbury, announcing that he purposed to pursue the rebels into the West, and charging them to provide a contingent for his service, and provisions to entertain an army of 40,000 men ; this is printed in Hatcher's History of Salisbury, (Hoare's Modern Wiltshire,) fol. 1843, p. 174.

(24.) One of the "Paston Letters" (vol. II. Reign of Edward IV. Letter xxxii.) which was written from York on the 27th of March, confirms the present narrative in many particulars. It is as follows.

"To my cosyn, John Paston.

"The king camme to Grantham and there taried thoresday all day, and there was headed sir Thomas Dalalaunde, and one John Neille, a greate capteyn ; and upon the Monday nexte after that at Dancastre, and there was headed sir Robert Wellys and anothe greate capteyn,* and than the king hadde warde that the duke of Clarence and the erle of Warwick was att [Ch]esterfeld,† xx. mile from Dancastre. And uppon the teweday, at ix. of the bell, the king toke the feld, and mustered his people, and itt was seid that were never seyn in Ingland so many goodly men and so well arreyed in a fild ; and my lord ‡ was whorshupfully accompanied, no lord there so well ; wherfor the king gaffe my lord a greate thanke ; and than the duke of Clarence and the erle of Warwike harde that the king was comyng to them-warde, incontynent they departed, and wente to Manchestre in Lancasshire, hopyng to have hadde helpe and socour of the lord Stanley ; § but in conclusion there they hadde litill favor, as it was enformed the king ; and so men

* Dr. Miller, in his History of Doncaster, 4to. p. 46, has here appended a note stating that "this great captain was sir Ralph Grey of York, who was taken the year 1463 by the Yorkists in the battle of Bamburgh ;" but that was a distinct occurrence, which had passed seven years before, and is very incorrectly stated by Dr. Miller. Sir Ralph Grey, of Wark (*not* York) was captain of the castle of Bamborough for king Henry ; it was taken by assault soon after the battle of Hexham in June 1464, and sir Ralph was thereupon brought to king Edward, who happened to be then at Doncaster, and forthwith beheaded. See a particular narration of these events, from a MS. in the College of Arms, in the notes to Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 36.

† This place is printed Esterfield, in Sir John Fenn's modernised version ; and was conjectured to be Austerfield by the Editor of the 12mo. edition, in 1841.

‡ "I believe it means John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk."—FENN.

§ Thomas lord Stanley was lord steward of the king's household (*Fœdera*, xi. 845). He

sayn they wente Westward, and som men demen to London. And whan the king harde they wer departed and gone, he went to York, and came theder the thoresday next aftre, and there camme into hym alle the gentilmen of the shire; and uppon our Lady day made Percy erle of Northumberland,† and he that was erle afore markeys Muntakew,‡ and the king is purposed to come Southwarde. God send hym god spede. Writen the xxvij. day of March.

(Signed, in place of a name, thus—) “for trowyth.”

It may here be remarked that letter xxxvi. of vol. IV. of the Paston Letters evidently belongs to this year, 1470, and not to 1462, to which it was assigned by the editor. It was written at Stamford the 13th day of March, “by youre sone and servant, John Paston the older,” to John Paston, at the Inner Temple, the writer being then in attendance on the king, and charged to have his horse and harness in constant readiness. Sir John Fenn imagined it was written from a place named Stamford either in Northumberland or Yorkshire.

(24.) *Lord Scrope*. It appears doubtful whether this was John lord Scrope of Bolton, K.G. or Thomas lord Scrope of Upsal and Masham, who were both living at this period. No other notice of either of them opposing the authority of king Edward has been found.

(25.) *Sir John Conyers*, of Hornby Castle, co. York (afterwards a K.G. in the reign of Richard III.) had commanded the army of Northern men which defeated the king's friends at Edgecote, near Banbury, and his eldest son, James, was killed in that battle (see Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 7). His wife was a cousin of the earl of Warwick, namely, Alice, daughter and coheir of William Neville lord Fauconberg, and earl of Kent.

(26.) *Young Hilliard of Holdreness*. This was the popular leader of the Northern insurrection, who was best known by the name of “Robin of Riddesdale.” His father, sir William Hilliard, or Hildyard, had fallen on the Lancastrian side at the battle of Towton, and the son had probably been reared under a forfeiture of his estates, which were at Winestead, near Pocklington. From whence he derived his popular name has not been ascertained. Sir Robert Hildyard was afterwards knighted at the coronation of Richard III. and was the ancestor of sir Robert Hildyard, a colonel in the army of Charles the First, whose loyalty was at the Restoration rewarded with a baronetcy, which continued in the family to the year 1814.

was brother-in-law to the earl of Warwick, having married lady Alianor Neville. He was afterwards the husband of Margaret countess of Richmond, mother of king Henry VII. and was created earl of Derby.

† “Harry Percy” had been released from the Tower of London, and had sworn fealty to king Edward at Westminster, on the 27th Oct. 1469. See the Memorandum upon the Close Rolls recording the ceremony printed in Rymer, xi. 649.

‡ It was at York that sir John Neville had first received the earldom of Northumberland, six years before, in May 1464. See Notes to Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 36.

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